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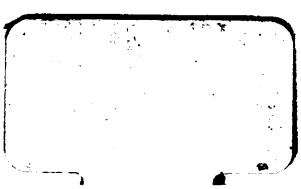

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PAPER READ AT THE FOURTEENTH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY AT PASADENA, CAL., MAY 19, 1911

FATHER KINO'S LOST HISTORY, ITS DISCOVERY, AND ITS VALUE

BY HERBERT E. BOLTON

ONE of the anomalies of historical study just now is that the oldest fields are the newest. Ancient History, once thought to be an exhausted topic, is at present offering the freshest materials and the liveliest interests. Similarly, in the United States, the Southwest, once the best known and then an almost forgotten portion, is now the subject of a "revival of learning." This section was not only known, but books were written about it in the sixteenth century.[1] New Mexico boasts a history in the form of an epic poem, filling a volume, and printed in 1610.[2] Several eighteenth century works dealt largely with New Mexico, Arizona, and California. And yet the serious study of the history and of the bibliography of historical writings relating to this region is still in its infancy.

An example is the work of the Jesuit missionary, Father Eusebio Kino, pioneer in California, explorer, apostle to the Pimas, and founder of Arizona. Though his heroic labors in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are well recorded in outline, little advance

[1] For example, Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios*, of which an edition appeared at Zamora in 1542 and another at Valladolid in 1555.

[2] Reference is made, of course, to Villagrá's *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*. Alcalá, 1610.

has been made in the study of them since the early Jesuit historians wrote, while the bibliography of Kino's own writings relative to his great life work is as yet a tangled skein.[3]

FATHER KINO'S CAREER

Since some of my readers may be unfamiliar with Father Kino's career, and since an understanding of it is essential to an appreciation of the importance of his writings, it seems proper to summarize its salient points before proceeding.

Kino was born at Trent, of German parents, in 1644. The early form of his family name was probably Kühn. Attributing to San Francisco Xavier his recovery in 1669 from a severe illness, he decided to become a missionary to the heathen, in imitation of his benefactor, and in order to fulfil that purpose he later renounced a professorship of mathematics in the University of Ingolstadt. Arriving in Mexico in 1681,[4] he at once came into prominent notice by entering into a controversy with the savant Sigüenza y Góngora concerning the comet of that year. Incident to the discussion he published at Mexico

[3] Lists of Father Kino's writings are given in Beristáin, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional* (Mexico, 1816–1821; Amecameca, 1883); De Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Liége, 1853–1861), vol. v, 367–368; and in Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Première Partie*, vol. iv, 1044–1045, and Addenda, xii, and vol. ix, 548.

[4] The year of his arrival has hitherto been an open question, but evidence, which cannot be given here, has been found to prove that it was in 1681.

a pamphlet entitled *Exposicion Astronomica de el Cometa.*[5] Two years later, in the capacity of royal cosmographer and superior of the missionaries, he joined the expedition sent under Atondo y Atillón to attempt the conquest and conversion of California. This enterprise failing, he afterwards secured permission to undertake missionary work in Pimería Alta, a district embracing what is now northern Sonora and southern Arizona. Arriving in Pimería Alta in 1687, he at once established the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in the valley of the San Miguel River, something over a hundred miles south of the present Tucson. This mission was his headquarters for twenty-four years of exploration, ranch-management, missionary activity, and writing. Operating from this base, he established a number of missions south of the United States in the valleys of the Magdalena and the Altár; crossed the line into Arizona and founded the missions of San Xavier del Bac, Guevavi, and Tumacácori;[6] many times explored the Gila and Colorado;

[5] *Exposicion Astronomica de el Cometa, que el Año de 1680. por los meses de Noviembre, y Diziembre, y este Año de 1681. por los meses de Enero y Febrero, se ha visto en todo el mundo, y le ha observado en la Ciudad de Cadiz, El P. Eusebio Francisco Kino de la Compania de Jesus.* Con licencia, en Mexico por Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, 1681, 4°, ffnc. 28, 1 carte. This title is taken from Sommervogel (iv, 1044), who gives also the circumstances of the composition of the work. Bancroft gives the first word of the title as "Explicaciõn" (*North Mexican States and Texas*, i, 251), while Beristáin has several other variations from the above form. The work is listed in the catalogue of the British Museum.

[6] The *Favores Celestiales*, which form the main subject of this paper, proves what has been contradicted, that both San Xavier del Bac and Guevavi had resident missionaries in Kino's day. Cf. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 361.

and in an attempt to answer the old question whether California was an island or a peninsula twice descended the Colorado below the mouth of the Gila, once crossing into California and once reaching the Gulf. This inquiry was one of the chief interests of the last eleven years of his life, and, as a result of his explorations, he answered it to his own satisfaction in a treatise, as yet unpublished, I believe, which he called "Cosmographical Demonstration that California is not an Island but a Peninsula, and that it is continuous with this New Spain, the Gulf of California ending in latitude thirty-five degrees."[7]

In his day Father Kino was the principal personage in his field. It was he who created Pimería Alta as a Spanish province and inspired the occupation of Lower California. Had life and strength been spared him to push with his wonted zeal and skill his projects for conversion and conquest in Alta California, six decades would not have elapsed, perhaps, before his dreams were realized, and then by the Franciscans, after his own order had been expelled from Spanish America. He not only created Pimería Alta, but he first made known its geography. His map is the earliest extant showing the Gila, the Colorado, and southern Arizona, on the basis of actual exploration. His letters, diaries, and map, and his

[7] *Manifiesto Cosmografico, de que la California no es Ysla, sino Peninsula y continuᵇ con esta Nueva España acavandose el Seno Californio en 35 [grados] de altura.* I have never seen this work or reference to it except in the *Favores Celestiales.* Writing therein on November 21, 1708, he said: "lo acavo de escrivir y con su Mapa lo remito a Mexico al P Provˡ Juº de estrada que su Revcª me lo pide." Fol. iii.

recently rediscovered History are indispensable sources for knowledge of the development of geographical ideas concerning California, and for the early history of the region south of the Gila on both sides of the Gulf.

IMPERFECTIONS OF KINO BIBLIOGRAPHY

This paper, however, is concerned not with the history of Father Kino's work, but with the bibliography of his personal writings relating to his work in America. My investigations in the archives of Mexico have enabled me to improve that bibliography in three directions: (1) By extension, through bringing to light items not hitherto known of by modern scholars, if at all, or if known of not known to be extant; (2) by curtailment, through the elimination of titles ascribed to Kino which should be accredited to others;[8] and through the identification of titles which have been regarded as distinct but which in fact refer to the same work, and are therefore duplicates; (3) by making known the original manuscripts in cases where formerly only imperfect copies have been available.[9] But within the space at my command it would be impossible to treat adequately all three of

[8] The list of Kino writings has been unduly lengthened, for example, by the inclusion, as diaries by Kino, of several separate chapters of Manje's *Lūz de Tierra Incógnita*, Libro II, cited below. This has been done in Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*, the catalogue of the British Museum, the catalogue of the Buckingham Smith Collection in the New York Historical Society library, Quaritch's trade catalogue, Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, ii, 267, and elsewhere.

[9] This is the case with at least four of the eleven items listed below on page 34.

these phases, or even one of them, and I shall therefore devote it all to the discussion of the most important single item of Kino's writings, his lost History, its rediscovery, identification, and value as an historical source.

EARLY REFERENCES TO A "HISTORY" BY KINO

In the works of the early Jesuit historians who dealt with New Spain there are several references to an "Historia" (History) or "Relación" (Relation) by Father Kino which have not been satisfactorily accounted for by any of the bibliographies of Kino's writings which have come to my notice. Thus, in the Prologue to Venegas's *Noticia de la California* completed in Mexico in 1739 and published at Madrid in 1757,[10] it is stated by the editor that "Father Venegas, to write his History, had present . . . . the Manuscript History of the Missions of Sonora by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino," etc. Similarly, Alegre, in the Prologue to his *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España*, which he left incomplete in 1767 at the time of the Jesuit expulsion, mentions as one of his principal sources "the relation of Sonora, by Father Francisco Eusebio Kino."[11] A third

[10] *Noticia de la California . . . . sacada de la Historia Manuscrita, Formada en Mexico año de 1739 por el Padre Miguèl Venegas*, etc. Madrid, 1757. An English version of this work was published at London in 1759 as *A Natural and Civil History of California*. Two volumes.

[11] "La de Sonora, por el padre Francisco Kino," the antecedent of *la* being *relación*. *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España que estaba escribiendo El P. Francisco Javier Alegre al Tiempo de su Espulsion* (Mexico, 1841), "Prologo," p. 3.

Jesuit work, falling chronologically between the two already cited, mentions a Kino manuscript in such terms as to suggest at once the work referred to by Venegas and Alegre. Allusion is here made to Father Ortega's *Apostólicos Afanes*, which was completed in Mexico in 1752 and published at Barcelona in 1754.[12] Ortega cites, as his main reliance for his treatment of Kino's career, what he several times calls a "Relación" (Relation) by Father Kino, and to which he once refers as a *legajo* (bundle) of Kino's papers "in which his expeditions, undertakings, and discoveries are coördinated."[13]

In the foregoing works, it is seen, we have three specific references to a history, or relation, by Kino. The editor of Venegas calls it "the Manuscript History of the Missions of Sonora," Alegre "the relation of

[12] *Apostolicos Afanes de la Compañia de Jesus Escritos por un Padre de la Misma Sagrada Religion de su Provincia de Mexico.* This work was completed in Mexico by Father Joseph Ortega, and published anonymously at Barcelona in 1754. A reprint was published by Manuel de Olaquibel at Mexico in 1887 as *Historia del Nayarit, Sonora, Sinaloa y ambas Californias.* For the identification of the author, see the "Prologo" to the 1887 edition. This edition does not contain the "Prologo y Protesta del Autor" found in the original edition, copies of which are in the library of Santa Clara College, California, and the Bancroft Collection at the University of California. For references to the Kino manuscript used by Ortega, see *Historia del Nayarit*, 301, 303, etc.

[13] "A la Pimeria Alta, cuyas malas y buenas calidades quedan brevemente dibujadas, enviaron los superiores al padre Eusebio Francisco Kino; y habiendose encontrado un legajo de sus papeles en que están coordinados sus viajes, empresas y descubrimientos, será muy conveniente que su memoria en suscinta relación se conserve en esta Historia." (*Historia del Nayarit*, 301–302). Again, "El mismo apostólico sábio jesuita en sus papeles se refiere á varios que de sus descubrimientos ha remitido, ó á Roma . . . . ó á Mexico" (*ibid.* p. 302).

Sonora," and Ortega a relation, or papers, "in which his expeditions, undertakings, and discoveries are coördinated." No such work has been known to modern scholars, I believe, and, so far as I have been able to discover with the resources at my command, the references by Venegas, Ortega, and Alegre are the only ones to a history of Sonora or to a work of that nature made by anyone who claims to have used it, although it is possible that there may be others which have not come to my notice. It will be seen that the latest of these references was made as early as 1767, or nearly a century and a half ago.[14]

[14] A reference was made in 1792 by one who had seen it. This was Father Figueroa, who in that year compiled the manuscript collection called *Memorias para la Historia de Nueva España*, consisting of thirty-two volumes. In volume xvii he copied Kino's diary of 1683–85. Incident thereto he made the following comment: "Among the manuscript papers of the secret archive of the extinguished province of the Company of Jesus of New Spain we found some in the very handwriting of the apostolic man Francisco Kino. They detail at great length some of the expeditions which, on various occasions, this same father undertook for the discovery and conversion of the barbarian heathen living in the *barrancos* and *rancherias* which extend toward the Sea of California. The greater portion of the papers written by Father Kino furnished material for the work which, under the title of *Afanes Apostólicos*, was printed in Barcelona by the Company of Jesus in 1754. Since they were communicated to the public in this way, it is seen that they have no place in this collection, except the diary that follows, which is not included in that work. It contains, indeed, detailed notices of the discovery and conversion of many *rancherias* of heathen which are not distinctly treated of in the *Apostólicos Afanes*." This note was published in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico* (fourth series, Mexico, 1856), Tomo i, 403, as an introduction to Kino's "Tercera Entrada," to which Figueroa refers. It is clear, therefore, that Father Figueroa saw the papers to which the other authors referred, but that, on the other hand, he did not recognize their unity or their exact relation to the *Afanes*.

Clavigero, *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California* (Méjico, 1852), in the

CONJECTURES OF MODERN WRITERS

Nevertheless, a few modern authors have noticed the allusions in the old Jesuit histories, and it is interesting to see what they have thought they meant. The earliest conjecture which I have seen as to their meaning is that made by Beristáin y Sousa, in his *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional*, first published at Mexico in the period 1816–1821.[15] Commenting in that work upon Alegre's reference, Beristáin conjectured that the so-called "Historia" by Kino was "perhaps nothing else," to use his own words, than Kino's diaries, letters, and reports, otherwise known, taken collectively. "Or," he says, "it may be the relation which was brought to my notice by my inquisitive friend, Don José María de la Riba y Rada." This relation, he explains, was the "Relación diaria" of 1698, now slightly known but which Beristáin evidently had never seen.[16]

The De Backers, in their monumental *Bibliothèque*,[17] published at Liége, 1869–1876, follow Beristáin, and,

"Prefacio del Autor" says of Venegas: "approvechandose de las cartas de los misioneros, y especialmente de las de los padres Salvatierra, Piccolo y Ugarte, que fueron de los mas celebres y antiguos [,] de la historia manuscrita de Sonora, compuesta por el infatigable padre Kino, etc." He evidently took this from the "Prologo" of Venegas, and had no personal knowledge of the "historia manuscrita" by Kino.

[15] Mexico, 1816–1821; Amecameca, 1883.

[16] The evidence that he had not seen it is the fact that he copied from another source a peculiarity of title which is not found in the original.

[17] *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Liége, 1853–1861), v, 367–368. Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Première Partie*, iv, 1044, and Addenda, xii; and vol. ix, 548.

favoring the latter of his alternative conjectures, query with respect to the Kino "Historia," as cited by Alegre, "is it different from C [the "Relación diaria"]?" The Sommervogel edition of the De Backer, printed as late as 1893, contains the same query without adding new light.[18]

In the meantime Bancroft, writing in 1884, made a somewhat different conjecture, and one that was not without some shrewdness, although quite wide of the mark. It will be remembered that Ortega states that in writing the *Apostólicos Afanes* he made use of a "relación" by Father Kino. Noting this statement, Bancroft says, "Venegas refers to a MS Historia de Sonora by Kino, referring to the letters embodied in the *Apostólicos Afanes*." A little farther on in the same work Bancroft says of the *Afanes*, "Libros ii and iii relate to the Jesuit work in Pimería, and the former almost exclusively to Kino's achievements down to 1710, being in substance as is believed Kino's own letters on the subject. It may be regarded probably as the *Historia de Sonora* vaguely alluded to by several writers as having been left in MS by Kino." Again, he says of Manje: "His reports have fortunately been preserved, ... being often more satisfactory than even Kino's letters as embodied in the *Apostólicos Afanes*.[19] In his *Arizona and New Mexico*, published in 1888, he states unequivocally that the

[18] Sommervogel, *loc. cit.*

[19] Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, i, 190, 253, 256.

Afanes, or a part of it, is made up "mainly of Kino's letters."[20]

And thus, to summarize, it has been conjectured that the "Historia" referred to by the early writers was (1) merely Kino's letters "as embodied in the *Apostólicos Afanes*," or (2) his letters, diaries, and reports taken collectively, or (3) the single diary of 1698. In all these cases there is an implied disbelief in the existence of a History, in the sense of a compilation or treatise.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE *FAVORES CELESTIALES*

This word of Bancroft, excepting Sommervogel's repetition of the De Backers's query, seems to be the last that has been said upon the subject up to the present. But we are now in a position to add new light. Mystery is dispelled and conjectures are made superfluous by the discovery in the archives of Mexico of what is clearly the "Historia" or "Relación" to which Venegas, Ortega, and Àlegre referred. It is an original manuscript, mainly in Kino's own handwriting, marked by certain unmistakable peculiarities of Kino's composition and signed by himself three times. It is preserved in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico, where the present writer discovered it some four years ago. The original contains four hundred thirty-three small folio pages of text and a fourteen page table of contents. The complete title of the work is:

[20] Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 254.

FAVORES CELESTIALES
DE IESUS Y DE MARIA SS.ma
y del Gloriosissimo Apostol de las Yndias
S FRANCISCO XAVIER
Experimentados En las Nuevas Conquistas
y Nuevas Comversiones
DEL NUEVO REINO DE LA NUEVA
NAVARRA
Desta America Septentrional Yncognita y Passo
por tierra a la California en 35 grados
de altura
Con Su Nuevo Mapa Cosmografico De estas
Nuevas y Dilitadas Tierras que hasta
aora havian Sido Yncognitas
DEDICADOS A LA Rl MAGd DE
FELIPO. V.
Mui Catolico Rey y Gran Monarca
De las Españas, y de las Yndias.

It will be referred to here as the *Favores Celestiales*.[21]

The "Mapa Cosmografico" is not filed with the manuscript and has not been seen by the present writer, unless it be the Kino map of 1701.

[21] "Celestial Favors of Jesus, Most Holy Mary, and the Most Glorious Apostle of the Indias, San Francisco Xavier, Experienced in the New Conversions of the New Kingdom of New Navarre, of this Unknown North America, and the Land-Passage to California in thirty-five degrees of latitude, With the New Cosmographic Map of these New and Extensive Lands which hitherto have been unknown. Dedicated to the Royal Majesty of Philip V, Very Catholic King and Grand Monarch of the Spains and the Indies."

GENERAL NATURE OF THE WORK

The general nature of the work is readily gathered from its table of contents.[22] It opens with a dedication to "the very Catholic Majesty of Our Lord Philip V" and the conventional "Prologue to the charitable reader." The body consists of five parts, of greatly unequal lengths, each divided into books and chapters. Part I[23] is a consecutive account of the spiritual affairs, the explorations, the Indian troubles, and other temporal interests in Pimería Alta, with considerable attention to California, from the time of Kino's arrival in March, 1687, to November, 1699, and contains near the end a discussion of the spiritual and temporal advantages which might be derived from further conquests in "this most extensive northern portion of this North America, which is the largest and best portion of the earth." Parts II, III, and IV[24] cover in a similar way the period from 1700 to

[22] "INDICE y Compendio breve de esta historia o tratado de los favores celestiales esperimentados en las Nuevas Conversiones desta America Septentrional Yncognita."

[23] "Parte I: Nuevas Conquistas Espirituales Y temporales En la Pimería del Reyno de La Nueva Biscaya Ynterin se suspende la Empresa de La Conquista y Convercion de La California y lo susedido Por los 12 an[s] desde 1687 hasta 1699."

[24] "Parte II de los Favores Celestiales de Iesus y de Maria SS.[ma] y del Gloriosissimo Apostol de las Yndias S. Francisco Xavier experimentados En las Nuevas Conversiones o Nuevas Fi[li]pinas Desta America Septentrional Por los Años de 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702 y Nuevo Descubrimiento Del Passo por tierra Firme a la California, en 32. grados de altura, con lo qual se reconoce no ser Ysla, sino Penisla con muy fertiles Tierras, con muy caudalosos, y pingues muy poblados Rios de muchas, mansas, dociles y Affables Nuevas Naciones."

"Parte III de los Favores Celestiales de Iesus y de Maria SS.[ma] Y Del

1707, with particular emphasis upon Kino's own exploring expeditions in Pimería Alta, along the Gila and Colorado rivers, and along the Gulf coast. Here the chronological narrative ends. Part V[25] was not originally written as a portion of the "Historia," but was incorporated, in Kino's last days, as a suitable conclusion. It is a report to the King, finished in 1710, the year before Kino's death, and consists of an extended argument in favor of the promotion of further conquests in California and other parts of the northern country, with a view to the establishment of a new kingdom to be called "New Navarre."

In short, the *Favores Celestiales* is a history of Pimería Alta and of explorations therein and therefrom, with considerable attention to California affairs, for the twenty-three years between 1687 and 1710, written by the principal personage in the region during the period.

Gloriosissimo Apostol de las Yndias S. Francisco Xavier Experimentados En estas Nuevas Conversiones o Nuevas Felipinas Desta America Septentrional Yncognita. El año de 1703, y 1704."

"Parte IV De los fabores Zelestiales de Jesus y de Maria Santissima y del gloriossissimo Apostol de las Yndias, San Franco. Jabier, Experimentados en las Nuebas Conquistas y Nuebas Conversiones de esta Pimeria Sus Confinantes Nuebas Naziones de esta Prov.ª de Sonora de la Nueba España y America Setentrional, Por los años de 1705 y 1706."

[25] "Parte V. De los Favores Celestiales de Iesus, Y Maria SS.ª y Del Gloriosissimo Apostol de las Yndias S. Francisco Xavier experimentados En estas Nuevas Conquistas, y Nuevas Conversiones destas Nuevas Naciones Desta America Septentrional Yncognita y aunque en esta V Parte podia proseguir la Historia de los años de 1707. y de 1708. y de 1709 Ponese en su lugar en esta Parte ultima un Ynforme Largo Del muy Grande Bien, que para muy Grandes servicios de Ambas Magestades, aun a muy poca costa de la R.l. Hazienda se puede conseguir y de los muchos Medios Temporales, que N.º S.r con sus Favores Celestiales nos da a manos llenas en estas Fertilissimas Nuevas Tierras."

From internal evidence we learn the essential facts concerning the compilation of the *Favores Celestiales*. It was written at the command of the Father General of the Jesuit order, and is therefore official in character. The various parts were compiled at different times, during a period of more than ten years, between 1699 and 1710, and different portions of the work were forwarded to the authorities as they were completed, before the termination of the whole work. In fact, no evidence has been seen that the completed history was sent to the authorities. One striking fact is that it was all written at Kino's remote mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, in the intervals between the absorbing and fatiguing labors of the missionary and the explorer.

THE IDENTITY OF THE *FAVORES CELESTIALES* WITH THE "HISTORIA"

A careful study establishes beyond the shadow of a doubt the identity of the *Favores Celestiales* with the "Historia" or "Relaciõn" used by Venegas, Ortega, and Alegre. A detailed comparison shows that in the part dealing with Kino's life work, Ortega's *Apostólicos Afanes* is little else than a summary of the *Favores Celestiales*, and not always a critical summary at that, though in general very good. In the order of presentation, the former follows the latter throughout, while there are innumerable evidences of word and phrase borrowing. The two other writers, Venegas and Alegre, are so brief in the ground covered by the *Favores Celestiales* that it is less easy to detect borrowing, but in Venegas a few

instances are so palpable as to leave no doubt. With respect to Alegre, it appears that while he had the *Favores Celestiales* at hand, in the main he followed Ortega's condensation of it, rather than the original.

ITS VALUE AS A SOURCE

Our primary interest in the *Favores Celestiales*, of course, is to know its value as an historical source. To determine this, it is necessary to analyze its contents in the light of the hitherto extant sources for the different periods and subjects which it covers. The results of a preliminary examination of that nature can only be intimated here, and this mainly in a quantitative way.

1. In the first place, the *Favores Celestiales* is a continuous account of an entire historical movement of great importance, covering a period of more than twenty years, from the pen of the principal actor. In this respect it has no known rival, and its value is obvious. Next to it in rank from this standpoint is Libro II of Manje's *Lūz de Tierra Incógnita*, of which more later.[26] Even if all the facts which the *Favores Celestiales* contains could be gleaned from other sources, it would still, from its personal associations, have the highest intrinsic value.

The worth of such a treatise, to be sure, is greatly dependent upon the author's method of work. That Kino wrote from the sources, and kept close to them, and thus fulfilled one important condition, is evidenced by

[26] See page 27.

the fact that in the *Favores Celestiales* he quotes from some two hundred documents, giving some in their entirety, and cites others. He must have had at hand and drawn upon the correspondence of many years. Whether his canons of quotation are any better than those of this contemporaries, I am at present unable to say. Numerically, the larger portion of the documents quoted are letters from his superiors and associates, but there are also, quoted at length, seven diaries of exploring expeditions, chiefly within what is now the United States. Nearly all of these diaries, and the whereabouts of quite all, I believe, have been hitherto unknown.

2. In the second place, the discovery of the *Favores Celestiales* discloses the chief source from which the extant secondary works are drawn; for, as it has been said, it now appears that Ortega's *Afanes*, which has represented the maximum of our information, is merely a summary of the *Favores Celestiales*, while Venegas and Alegre, still briefer, depended directly or indirectly on the same source. More recent accounts of Kino's work have all been drawn mainly from Ortega, Alegre, Manje, and Venegas.

Recurring at this point to Bancroft's conjecture, it is now seen that while the *Afanes* is not composed of Kino's own letters, to any important extent, and that the "Historia" (i.e. *Favores Celestiales*) is by no means identical with the *Afanes* (or with Book ii of it, if that is what Bancroft meant to say); yet Bancroft rightly concluded that the *Afanes* was founded on a wealth of

original documents, and that by the "Historia" and the "Relación" Ortega, Venegas, and Alegre all referred to the same thing, whatever it was.

3. The supreme test is what the *Favores Celestiales* contains that is not found in the available primary sources, as distinguished from the secondary works. This question must be considered from the standpoint of the different periods covered by Kino, for no single generalization will hold for all periods.

a) For the history of Pimería Alta from the time of Kino's arrival there in 1687 to the coming of Manje late in 1693, our main reliance has hitherto been the secondary works of Ortega, Venegas, and Alegre, none of whom was an eyewitness or even a contemporary, and the earliest of whom wrote many years after the close of the period designated. Very few contemporary documents for these years—almost none by Kino—have been known. Thus the *Favores Celestiales* is not only the principal source of our secondary accounts, but practically the only important primary source for the period. It is not surprising, therefore, that, besides greatly enlarging our information, it corrects many errors that have become current, and puts on a solid footing a number of important statements hitherto uncertain or skeptically regarded, with reference to early explorations within the United States.[27]

[27] To this period Kino devotes two books, entitled "Book I, First Entry into Pimería, and the beginnings of its Spiritual and Temporal Conquest, and of its Conversion to Our Holy Catholic Faith," and "Book II, Visit and

b) For the period extending from 1694 to 1701, inclusive, our most important single source has been the account by Manje, commander of Kino's military escort on several expeditions. For this compilation Bancroft improvised the title, *Historia de Pimería Alta*,[28] etc. Of it he says: "This work is composed of Manje's diaries given literally, but connected apparently by some editor whose name is unknown."[29] But the original manuscript, which, also, I had the good fortune to find, shows that it is Libro II of a work called *Lūz de Tierra Incógnita*, and that the unknown editor was Manje himself. The work extends to 1721, but is relatively unimportant for the current of events after 1701.[30] Of this relation it

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Triennium of the Father Visitor Juan María Salvatierra, 1690, 1691, 1692." From the founding of Mission Dolores, in March, 1687, to January, 1691, very little has hitherto been known of Kino's doings. Thus Bancroft writes that his "subsequent movements for several years are not recorded in detail," and that "he kept on alone and before 1690 had other fine churches in each of his villages" (*North Mexican States and Texas*, i, 253). Again, in his *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 352, Bancroft says: "For six years he toiled alone, till fathers Campos and Januske came in 1693." But the *Favores Celestiales* contains several chapters on this dark period. It tells us, too, that Kino did not work alone all the time, as has been supposed, but that Fathers Luis María Pineli, Antonio Arras, Pedro de Sandoval, and Juan del Castillo "came in and accomplished some good in this Pimería," stating specifically where each worked (Book i, ch. viii). These are but illustrations of numerous ways in which this first portion of the *Favores Celestiales* will correct and enlarge our information for the period.

[28] *North Mexican States and Texas*, i, 256.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] A copy of Libro I is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico (1720, 1 vol. octavo, MS). This work covers the history of discovery in the northwestern part of New Spain, and particularly in Pimería Alta before Manje's day. It contains

has been said that its only rival for the period under consideration is the *Apostólicos Afanes;*[31] and in the absence of the source from which the *Afanes* was drawn, this opinion was correct. But we now have that source, and the assertion no longer holds.

A careful comparison shows that the *Favores Celestiales* supplements the *Lūz de Tierra Incógnita* in many important particulars, only a few of which can be mentioned. In general, it emphasizes mission affairs, while Manje's work gives relatively more attention to military events. With Manje at hand, Bancroft was constrained to say of Kino's first visit to Casas Grandes, in 1694—the first recorded since Coronado's time—"No diary was kept, and our knowledge is limited to the bare fact that such an entrada was made."[32] But the *Favores Celestiales* devotes a chapter to the visit,[33] short, it is true, but neverthelesss very enlightening. Kino embodies in his account of the period designated, and especially

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at the end a copy of Kino's diary of 1698, of which the original was discovered by me in another archive. Libro II, published in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser. iv, tomo i (Mexico, 1856), without title, is a continuation of this work, a fact that has never before been noted, so far as my knowledge extends. A copy of Libro I is in the Peabody Museum, and is listed among the Bandelier transcripts in *Report of the United States Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, 1892-1893*, p. 326.

[31] Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 354.

[32] *North Mexican States*, i, 259; cf. *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 355.

[33] Parte I, Libro II, Capitulo viii: "Entrada o Mision al Norte y al Nortueste demas de 100 leguas hasta al Rio y casa grande y descubrimiento de las dos Nuevas Naciones la opa y la Coco Maricopa." The spelling of "Nortueste" illustrates one of Kino's peculiarities of composition alluded to on a previous page.

of the events of 1695, many original letters not given elsewhere, to my knowledge,[34] and devotes several important chapters to important happenings of 1696, 1697, and 1698 not touched at all by Manje. For one exploring expedition of 1699 and another of 1701 Kino parallels Manje's diaries with his own, while for two expeditions of 1700 and one of 1701 not treated at all by Manje he gives diaries. It has already been noted that most of these diaries have not only been unavailable but also unknown to modern scholars.[35] Manje, on the other hand, supplies diaries of three expeditions made in 1694, one in 1697, and one in 1699 of which Kino gives only secondary accounts, based, apparently, on his own diaries.

c) For the period from April, 1701, to Kino's death, in 1711, the lack, hitherto, of primary sources, has been as great as for that before 1694, while the *Favores Celestiales*, fortunately, is much fuller for this period than for the former. Our main reliance here, as there, has been the older secondary histories already mentioned, especially the *Afanes*. This work, hitherto much the fullest account of the period, devotes to it some 12,000 words, while the *Favores Celestiales*, besides being the source of all that the *Afanes* contains, devotes to the same period some 75,000 words, or six times the space. It is here, perhaps, that its distinctive value for narrative history

[34] Libros III and IV, comprising thirteen and six short chapters, respectively, are devoted entirely to the work and martyrdom of Father Saeta and the Indian troubles following that event.

[35] See the list, page 33.

is greatest, in view of the brevity of other accounts of the events of these years. The chronological treatment of events extends in the *Favores Celestiales* only to 1707. Among the notable source items incorporated for this period are four diaries, none hitherto accessible, and the "Informe" of 1710, which is cited by Ortega, but whose whereabouts and contents apparently have been unknown.

The *Favores Celestiales* will not be studied least, perhaps, for the light which it throws upon the question of the peninsularity of California and upon Kino's ambitious visions of northward progress of the Jesuit missions and the Spanish arms. In addition to the narratives and the diaries which it gives of numerous explorations made to get new light upon California geography, the *Favores Celestiales* devotes a chapter to the discussion of Kino's conclusions concerning it.[36]

Students of Southwestern and Pacific Coast history may be interested to know that translations of the *Favores Celestiales*, the *Lūz de Tierra Incógnita*, and the lesser Kino manuscripts have been made by the present writer, and that arrangements for their publication, in both English and Spanish, have been effected.

One word more, *apropos* of this new accession to our materials for early Southwestern history. While highly important in itself, it is but a single illustration of the

[36] Capitulo I of Libro IV, Parte II, is entitled: "Las dudas y contravercias que tantos an^{s} a havido, de si la Califor.^{a} es continente o tierra firme continuada con esta Nueva Espana," ff. 176–179.

vast stores of unexploited materials for Western and Southwestern history in the Mexican archives awaiting our attention. A very incomplete list of California manuscripts encountered there by me, for example, reaches to more than three thousand titles, some of which stand for whole volumes. The Carnegie Institution of Washington is endeavoring by systematic research to make known the contents of these archives; and when the people of the West and the Southwest—for it is their task and not that of the East—shall come to provide the means for scholars to gather and study the rich sources thus revealed, a large part of the entire history of both regions will have to be rewritten.

APPENDIX

Having made the foregoing general statement regarding the writings of Kino incorporated by him in the *Favores Celestiales*, their relative importance may be made clearer by enumerating them in a list beside one of those hitherto known of and available to modern scholars. A tentative list of such writings, eliminating all duplications, all titles of doubtful authenticity, and all unpublished manuscripts whose whereabouts has not been ascertained, is given below. The process by which it was derived need not be stated here. A number of titles given by Sommervogel, Beristáin, and others, will be missed, but, as has been indicated, those lists are greatly confused, and when critically studied many of the items disappear. It is to be understood, however, that the list given here is not considered as by any means final.

A.—KINO WRITINGS HITHERTO AVAILABLE

1. *Exposicion Astronomica de el Cometa.* Mexico, 1681.

2. *Tercera Entrada. en 21 de Diciembre de 1683.*

(Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, ser. iv, tom. 1, 405–468. Original MS in the archives of Mexico.)

3. A letter of May 13, 1687, "an einen unbenannten Priester."

(Quoted in "Brief Patris Adami Gilg," in Stöcklein, *Neue Welt Bott*, 1726.)

4. *Relacion del estado de la Pimeria que remitte el P.e Visitador Horacio Polici: y es copia de Carta que le escribe el Capitan D.n Christoval Martin Bernal.* Dec. 3 and 4, 1697.

(Printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 797–809. Original MS in the archives of Mexico.)

5. *Colocasion de nuestra Sa de los Remedios en su nueva capilla De su nuevo pueblo de las Nuevas Conversiones de la Pimeria En 15 de Setiembre de 98 a.s.* Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Sept. 16, 1698.

(Printed under a wrong title in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 814–816. The title given above is that of the original MS in the archives of Mexico.)

6. *Carta Del padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, al padre visitador Horacio Policio, acerca de una entrada al Noroeste y mar de la California, en Compañia del Captain Diego Carrasco, actual teniente de esta dilatada Pimeria, que fue de ida y vuelta mas de trescientas leguas, a 22 de setiembre de 1698.* Signed at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Oct. 18, 1698.

(Printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser iii, tom, iv, 817–819. The above title is that of the original MS in the archives of Mexico.)

7. *Relasion Diaria de la entrada al nortueste que fue de Yda y Buelta mas de 300 leguas desde 21 de setiembre hasta 18 de otubre de 1698. Descubrimiento del desemboque del rio grande hala Mar de la California y del Puerto de Sa Clara Reduction de mas de 4000 almas de las Costas Bautismos de mas de 400 Parbulos 1698. Con Enseñanzas y Experienzias.*

(Unprinted. The above title is from the original in the archives of Mexico. Known hitherto only in the form of a MS copy at the end of Libro I of *Lūz de Tierra Incógnita* in the Biblioteca Nacional.)

8. *Breve relacion de la insigne victoria que los Pimas, Sobaipuris en 30 de Marzo del Año de 1698 han conseguido contra los enemigos de la Provincia de Sonora.* May 3, 1698. Postdated Oct. 25.

(Printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 810–813. The above title is from the original MS in the archives of Mexico.)

9. *Paso por tierra a la California y sus Confinantes Nuebas Naciones*, etc. 1701.

(This is Kino's famous map of Pimería Alta, which has been printed in many editions.)

10. Une lettre.

[So cited by Sommervogel, as printed in Scherer's *Geographia hierarchica*. Monachii, 1702. As a matter of fact, the extract is not a single letter, "but a gathering of several letters" of Kino.)

The above list, including ten titles, and comprising three letters, two diaries, three relations, and one map, embraces, as has been said, all the unquestioned Kino items available to modern scholars, so far as I have been able to determine up to the present. To these we can now add, from those incorporated in the *Favores Celestiales*, seven diaries, three letters, and an "informe," or report. None of these items, so far as I am aware, have been available to modern students. Some were referred to by the older historians, but have been positively declared not extant. Others have never been mentioned to my knowledge. It will be seen that the new list is longer than the old. Thus the *Favores Celestiales*, regarded merely as a source book, doubles our available Kino writings. It must be remembered, of course, that though they are given in documentary form, they may not be exact copies. The titles here given are in most cases chapter headings. The list is as follows:

B.—ADDITIONAL KINO WRITINGS INCORPORATED IN THE "FAVORES CELESTIALES"

1. *Entrada o Mission del P^e Visitador Antonio Leal en la Pimeria a los Sobaipuris del Norte y a la costa del Nortueste y del Poniente de ida y buelta de 240 leguas desde 24 de ottu^e hasta 28 de Noviembre de 1699 an^s hai en ella 23*

Bautismos-y se ven y quentan como 7000 almas. (*Favores Celestiales*, folios 50–53.)

2. *Relacion Diaria de la Entrada al Norte en orden a descubrir camino, y passo por tierra a la California, segun muchas Personas desean escriven, y piden.* (*F.C.*, ff. 69–84.)

3. *Entrada de 170. leguas al Norte y Nortueste en Busca del Passo por tierra a la California, y Descubrim.to del Caudalosissimo muy Poblado, y muy fertil Rio Colorado (que es legitimo Rio del Norte) y de las Nuevas Naciones.* (*F.C.*, 85–104.)

4. *Entrada (o Mission) al Remate de la Mar de la California en 34 grados del [sic] Altura Con el P.e R.r Juan Maria de Salvatierra.* (*F.C.*, 125–145.)

5. *Entrada de 200. leguas a la Nacion Quiquima de la California Alta y al muy Caudalosa, muy fertil, y muy poblado Rio Colorado, que es el legitimo, y verdadero, Rio del Norte. 1701.* (*F.C.*, 156–171.)

6. Letter to Father Salvatierra, describing the same journey. Dec. 8, 1701. (*F.C.*, 171–173.)

7. *Entrada de 200. leguas del ano 1702. con el muy individual Nuevo Descubrim.to. del muy cierto y muy patente Passo por tierra a la California, que se reconoce no ser Ysla, sino Penisla* Feb.–Apr., 1702. (*F.C.*, 180–190.)

8. Letter to Father Leal, describing the above expedition, Apr. 8, 1702. (*F.C.*, 191–194.)

9. *Mission, Quaresmal de mas de 50 leguas Al Nortueste y al Poniente, desde 27 de febrero asta 20 de Marzo, de 1706 entrando A San Ambrosio del Busanic, Al Tibutama y a Nra ssa de la Concepcion del Caborca.* Feb.–March, 1706. (*F. C.*, 338–341.)

10. *Ynforme y Relasion de las nuevas Conversiones de esta America Septentrional*, etc. Feb. 2, 1710. (*F. C.*, 379–419.)

11. Letter to King Philip V, transmitting the foregoing. Feb. 2, 1710. (*F. C.*, 377–378.)

PAPER READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE CHICAGO CHAPTER,
APRIL 30, 1912

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH FICTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY JOHN M. CLAPP

FOR some years I have been compiling a list of English prose fiction of the eighteenth century, from the catalogue of the British Museum and various other sources, with a view to making a comprehensive bibliography of the fiction of the century. So far, besides other sources, I have examined carefully about three-fourths of the British Museum Catalogue, and skimmed most of the other volumes. My list includes at present 4,095 titles, many of which will undoubtedly be deleted, as duplicates, or as not fiction at all. When completed, after all necessary sifting, it will include, I should guess, between 5,000 and 5,500 titles. I expect to finish the compilation this summer, but the verification and the formulation will take much longer. Most of these works I know as yet only by title; I have examined, in fact, fewer than a thousand of them; partly because it seemed better to finish the compilation before making any systematic effort at verification, partly because comparatively few of the books are to be found in the American libraries where most of my work has been done. Most of the work of verification must be done in London.

It is hardly too much to say that there are at present no good bibliographies of English fiction, either of the entire field or of particular periods—with the possible

exception of the later nineteenth century. Until recently, indeed, as the older books on the Novel show—Dunlop, Forsyth, Tuckerman, Masson, and so forth—there was little systematic knowledge of the subject. Interest in the history of fiction is growing, however. The prices of old novels at the second-hand shops have advanced materially in the last decade. A number of American libraries have the beginnings of good collections. A recent examination of American college catalogues, which by no means covered the field, showed that over a hundred of them are now offering courses in the history of the Novel, beginning usually with the eighteenth century but often with the sixteenth. Within a few years, moreover, a number of brief Histories of the Novel have appeared, as well as a few special monographs, all of them giving evidence of a much greater knowledge of the field than is to be found in the older books. Yet no one can examine even these recent books without realizing that our present knowledge of the history of English fiction rests on a very slender foundation. *The English Novel*, by Walter Raleigh, 2d edition, 1896, which prints no chronological list, mentions definitely but 110 titles of eighteenth-century works. *The Development of the English Novel*, by Wilbur L. Cross, 1899, mentions, similarly, only 67 titles. *The Literature of Roguery*, by Frank W. Chandler, 1907, mentions 155 titles. *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century*, by Martha Pike Conant, 1908, gives a bibliography of the more important works which, exclusive of magazine

tales and verse, mentions 101 titles. *The Rise of the Novel of Manners*, by Charlotte E. Morgan, 1911, gives a chronological list for the years 1701–40 of 227 titles. While all these books show, particularly that of Professor Raleigh, that the authors are acquainted with many more books of the period treated than they have mentioned, no one of them shows an acquaintance wide enough to serve as a safe basis for generalization. Each of these investigators has broken out of the beaten path somewhere, and reports something fresh and valuable which he has chanced to find. But no one seems to have mapped the ground, or to know very clearly what is to be seen there. Before the study of English fiction progresses much farther we must have some comprehensive chronological lists.

A chronological list is at once harder to obtain and more necessary in the study of fiction than in the study of the other principal literary forms. The materials for the study of fiction are difficult to get at, and for most students they must remain so. Not only are the old copies extremely rare, but reprinting for students' use is much more expensive than in the case of less bulky literary forms. It is possible to study the subject from samples—the great and the representative books—if we can be sure which these are, and what were their relations to each other and to the multitude of minor works contemporary with them. But for this we need a comprehensive bibliography, and in the case of English fiction the bibliography must be particularly

comprehensive because the field is not only vast but peculiarly diversified.

English fiction, throughout its early history, was a sub-literary form, developing almost independent of the standardizing influences of literary canons. It has been intimately responsive to the shifts of social fashions, and it records the wealth of personal individuality, whimsicality, which is the characteristic of English writers, as of the English race. It presents, therefore, a bewildering variety of experimental forms, some of them quite ephemeral, some quickly taken up and standardized, some developing in obscurity in the work of a series of anonymous writers until they came to the surface at last in the writings of some man of special ability, others again which, abandoned by writers of eminence, after having had a vogue, lived on for generations under the surface, still influencing readers, and even writers. The period of English literature which I know best is the eighteenth century. I never could account to myself for the wide variations of form and purpose in the works of the twenty-five or thirty principal writers of fiction in the eighteenth century until I had caught a glimpse of the mass of contemporary writings, quite submerged now, of which they are merely the highest peaks.

To make a bibliography of the entire field of English fiction is too vast an undertaking for any one man. The work must be done in sections, and the division by centuries is on the whole, I believe, the most convenient. For myself the fiction of the eighteenth century is of

particular interest. That was the formative period for modern English fiction, and, I am inclined to believe with M. Jusserand, for all modern fiction. A comprehensive and accurate bibliography of that period should be of great value in studying the tendencies of later fiction, whether of England, of America, or of continental Europe.

Such a bibliography must possess both comprehensiveness of scope and accuracy of bibliographical description of the entries. In view of what I have said of the diversified nature of the English fiction of that time, I trust I shall not give a wrong impression when I say that of these qualities, both essential, comprehensiveness is in this case the more important. To be really useful such a work must list not only the books which we should today classify as Novels or Short Stories (of these, according to my own list, there were between 2,000 and 3,000), but also as many as possible of the great number of other works whose appeal was chiefly, or largely, that of fiction. These may be grouped, roughly, in four classes: First, the narrative Chap-books. Second, the works of Pseudo-History, Pseudo-Biography, and Pseudo-Travel, of which there were many, especially in the first half of the century. In this class would be included the longer Criminal Biographies. Third, the stream of Tracts and Pamphlets, cast into narrative form, discussing current questions—political, social, religious, educational, or personal—in a persuasive, polemic, or satirical way. These also were very numerous, particularly at the beginning and the end of the century. Fourth, various miscellaneous works:

Jest-books; "Miscellanies" so-called, made up of both expository and narrative matter; certain collections of Essays, like those of Tom Brown, or of Letters, like Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe's *Friendship in Death*, in which there is a considerable narrative element; and a few odds and ends. The list should include, of course, all books issued during the century, whether first published then or not.

To attempt so wide a scope greatly increases, of course, the difficulty of the undertaking, multiplying the chances of error both of commission and of omission. No matter how careful the editor, there is practical certainty of the inclusion of a number of books which ought not to be counted, and the exclusion of a number of others whose claims are better. But I am convinced that the effort for a comprehensive list is worth the making. Every user will recognize its utility, though he may often disapprove of the editorial treatment of particular works. The difficulties can be minimized, I think, by basing the work upon the chief bibliographical authority in the language, the Catalogue of the British Museum, supplemented from as many other sources as practicable, and then taking time to examine all the books included.

The line would have to be drawn somewhere. I should not include pamphlets of less than a dozen pages, nor the tales and other narratives published only in magazines, nor yet the miscellaneous works in which fiction was quite a minor element. Nor should I attempt the endless task of tracing all the obscure works of fiction issued during the century by the multitude of provincial presses of

England, Ireland, and Scotland which are not represented in the British Museum Catalogue nor in the other principal sources of bibliographical knowledge. My list, therefore, is chiefly a list of books published in London, compiled according to the considerations which I have stated.

I began collecting titles of eighteenth-century fiction eight years ago, in connection with work on a course in the English Novel. I had been attracted by the perennial puzzle of the origins of Richardson's novels, and I began looking through the book-lists of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731–40. That sent me to the British Museum Catalogue to verify titles, and in the Catalogue and the *Magazine* I found so many works of which no mention was made in the usual books on the subject that I set about collecting the titles of books which I guessed to be novels, with no very clear notion what for. A summer in London enabled me to examine a number of these books and confirmed so many of my guesses that I was encouraged to go on. Since then, working at odd times, I have skimmed most of the British Museum Catalogue, and examined various other sources. Last summer I started to go systematically through the Museum Catalogue, and have thus far covered the volumes from A–G and S–Z, in the main catalogue and all of the First Supplement. My work has been done, I realize, in a very amateurish manner, but in certain points it has been consistent. I have made my entries on uniform 3×5 cards, and from the first I have invariably copied the entire Museum entry,

including the press-mark. The press-mark I noted at first merely for my immediate convenience when visiting the Museum, but I soon found it useful for purposes of cross-reference.

Next in importance to the British Museum Catalogue have been the eighteenth-century magazines. I have gone carefully through the *Gentleman's Magazine* monthly lists of Books Published from 1731 to 1801, and the *Monthly Review* lists from 1749 to 1801. The earlier volumes, I may say, must be examined again to catch the pamphlets and other smaller works which at first I did not consider. I have copied the title-entries in the magazines in full and also noted the length and character of the comment given to each work by the reviewer. I have examined, similarly, a number of volumes of the *Critical Review* from 1756 onward, but there were so few titles not already given in one or both of the other magazines that I did not go on.

The eighteenth-century magazine book-lists are very useful but very exasperating. Particularly in the earlier volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, titles are printed very incorrectly, so that identification is sometimes difficult. More vexatious is the constant shift in their scale of treatment. In some years they seem to have taken note of nearly every publication issued; in other years merely of the more important. As they gave no great attention to fiction at any time, they often ignore it for months together. The most remarkable instance is to be found in the later years of the century.

The number of Novels and Tales listed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Monthly Review* together (I have not here included the miscellaneous works which might be classed as fiction), are as follows: 1780, 23 titles; 1781, 18 titles; 1782, 25 titles; 1783, 38 titles; 1784, 28 titles; 1785, 90 titles; 1786, 70 titles; 1787, 87 titles; 1788, 103 titles; 1789, 75 titles; 1790, 43 titles; 1791, 30 titles; 1792, 40 titles; 1793, 31 titles. By themselves these figures would indicate an enormous increase in the output of novels in the late eighties, followed by as remarkable a decline. But so far as I can learn from the Museum Catalogue, and other sources, the production was approximately constant, increasing a little year by year.

The magazines are extremely useful in determining exact dates of publication. They usually state the selling price, which is usually not otherwise to be learned. While they give little direct information regarding authorship they often enable us to connect two or more works, all, of course, published anonymously, as by the same author. Their most useful feature is found in their critical comments. These are often rough and unsympathetic, and they represent, usually, a very conventional point of view, but so far as I have been able to compare them with the books noticed I find that they show uniform good sense and are substantially fair.

There are several other eighteenth-century magazines which should be examined, in addition to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Monthly Review*. In the first generation there were a number of short-lived publications,

such as the *Republic of Letters*, a careful study of which might furnish light where it is most sadly needed. I have dipped into some of these, but so far with little result. In the later part of the century the *London Magazine* and the *Critical Review* should reward the gleaner.

Another contemporary record of great importance so far as it goes, Arber's reprint of the Term Catalogues of the London booksellers from 1701 to 1711, I have gone through carefully. These lists have the same inconsistency of scale as the magazines, but so far as they go they are most valuable. They furnish all the information given by the entries in the Museum Catalogue, and in addition give complete titles, and generally the selling price. It is greatly to be regretted that the work stops just as the literature of the century begins to be interesting.

The chief modern source of information, aside from library catalogues, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I have gone through with care. This, I should say, is the chief reliance of the modern student in tracing authorship, as the Museum Catalogue—the main catalogue, at least—is somewhat inconsistent in this respect. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, on the other hand, gives comparatively little help in the matter of exact titles or of bibliographical description. I have supplemented the *Dictionary of National Biography* with Upcott's *Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors*, 1816, which furnishes information about a good many writers

of the last decade of the century not mentioned in modern works.

Notes and Queries has been for me a suggestive but rather disappointing work. I have examined the first two series carefully, but have got comparatively little out of them. I shall go through the rest of it, however.

The *Harvard Catalogue of Chap-books and Broadside Ballads* is a most useful work. It contains 112 dated items of eighteenth-century issue falling under my definition of fiction which I have not yet found in the British Museum Catalogue. It contains also, I am sure, many others of eighteenth-century issue whose exact date is not indicated. I may remark that the wide scope of my bibliographical scheme finds support in the groupings of this *Catalogue of Chap-books*. The section which the editors entitle "Prose Fiction" includes only 91 titles. But they have also a section of "Legendary Romances, Fairy Stories, and Folk Tales in Prose," which includes 166 titles; one of "Odd Characters and Strange Events," of 22 titles; one of "Travel and Adventure," of 21 titles; one, "Historical, Political, and Biographical," of 91 titles; several sections of "Crime and Criminals," including altogether 127 titles; and one of "Jest Books, Humorous Fiction, Riddles, etc.," of 205 titles. Now every one of these other seven sections includes works which to my thinking are as truly fiction as those in the "Prose Fiction" group. Any student who should disregard these last seven groups and consider only the 91 works in the "Prose Fiction" group would have a very imperfect

notion of the fiction elements in eighteenth-century Chap-books. A large number of the 632 titles in these seven sections will prove, I think, to belong in my list.

I have consulted a number of other English sources, but not systematically—such works, for instance, as Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, and *Restituta*, Hazlitt's books, and Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*. Lowndes, especially, I should say, promises to be useful. Some help has come, now and then, from items in the catalogues of second-hand dealers, and some from advertisements in eighteenth-century books. This last source will probably be extremely useful when I can get to the British Museum.

As English fiction was intimately related to that of France in the eighteenth century, I have given a good deal of attention to French bibliographies. Three eighteenth-century publications which I have looked over with some care, *L'Usage des Romans*, by Lenglet-Dufresnoy, 1734, the *Bibliothêque Universelle des Romans*, 1775–1805, and the *Catalogue LaVallière*, 1783, have been of little use. Two modern French works, however, have been most valuable. Quérard's *La France Littéraire* I have gone through carefully, copying out all fiction-entries. I have obtained thus between 2,000 and 2,500 French titles, which, though I have as yet made no systematic effort to collate them with the English list, will probably throw light on some questions of authorship. Gay's *Bibliographie des Ouvrages relatifs à L'Amour*, etc., 4th ed., 1893, has also proved useful, furnishing a number of titles not as yet found in the British Museum Catalogue.

I have so far done nothing with German bibliographies, which should prove useful for the later years of the century —the Revolutionary generation. Nor have I touched the Catalogue of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, which probably will furnish a good many new titles. As I have stated, I have yet to cover the volumes H to R in the main catalogue of the Museum, some other eighteenth-century magazines, Lowndes' *Manual*, and some odds and ends. The work of compilation, however, is well toward completion, and I do not expect the rate of addition of new titles to be very rapid, from now on. Of the 4,095 already collected, by the way, the number not given in the Museum Catalogue is relatively small. One of the results of my burrowings, so far as I myself am concerned, is a profound respect for the resources of the great London library. As for the other great English library, the Bodleian, it does not seem to me on the whole worth while to attempt to go through it with the same thoroughness. It would furnish, no doubt, some titles not elsewhere to be found, but the effort would be disproportionately great. The object of the compilation, an approximately complete list of eighteenth-century fiction, can be attained without it.

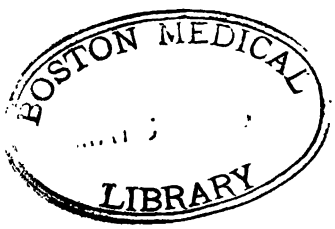
The second step in the preparation of a trustworthy bibliography, the verification of the titles, which I have scarcely begun, will have to be done mostly in London. By verification I do not mean any minute comparison of editions. For the purposes of this work it is necessary merely to make sure that the works listed are properly

to be included; that the titles, as I have them, are complete and correct; and that I have a correct bibliographical description of them. Even so, however, the verification will take a good while.

As to the third step in the preparation of the bibliography, the proper presentation of the material thus gathered and checked up, I know very little, at present; my views are offered to this body of professional bibliographers with considerable hesitation.

It seems to me that there should be one main list of titles, which should give the detailed description of each work. This list should be arranged chronologically but the books of each year should be arranged alphabetically, to aid quick reference. The titles in this main list—not reprints, all distinct works—should be numbered serially, and cross-reference throughout the book should be made by these serial numbers. There should be at least one supplementary list, an alphabetical list, namely, of abbreviated titles, for quick reference. There might be other supplementary lists, all of them necessarily incomplete, but all facilitating the use of the volume: a list of authors, a list of proper names occurring in the titles, and a list of translations or adaptations from other languages.

As to the arrangement of the matter contained in the entries of the main list I have no clear notion. Perhaps it should conform as closely as possible to that of the British Museum Catalogue, the chief basis of the bibliography. Perhaps there is now a standard order agreed


BOSTON MEDICAL LIBRARY

on by bibliographers. For convenience of discussion, however, the following arrangement will serve: 1, Date; 2, Serial number; 3, Title; 4, Author; 5, Publisher and place of publication; 6, Number of volumes and of pages, size, illustrations, and selling price; 7, Later editions; 8, Critical notices in eighteenth-century publications; 9, Bibliography noting the work, with press-mark if a library catalogue.

I have already spoken of the date—the year, that is, of the first eighteenth-century issue—and of the serial number. The many cases in which the date is doubtful might be indicated by a mark of interrogation in parentheses, before the serial number. In the British Museum Catalogue few works are listed without some indication of their approximate date. In the comparatively few cases in which the month or the day of publication is known the exact date might be printed in brackets after the serial number.

As to the title: My own belief is that the full title should be printed, in every case. The value of the work would be much greater if this were done. It is one of the best features of the Arber reprint of the Term Catalogues. To be sure, the full titles are often absurdly long. Many of the most insignificant publications listed in the Term Catalogues have titles filling fifteen or twenty lines. For instance, *The Last Legacy of Mr. Robert Russell to Children and Youth*, 1705, a shilling religious and moral tract, sweetened with stories, has a title which fills twenty-two lines. And yet these same long titles, serving as Tables

of Contents for the swarm of minor works practically inaccessible today, supply exactly the information which the user of the bibliography desires. I have wondered whether it would be practicable to use two sizes of type for these long titles, giving the title proper in the usual type and adding the rest in the smaller size. If it should be found necessary to abbreviate titles the responsibility of the editor would be heavy.

As to authorship: In England in the eighteenth century nearly all works of fiction were published anonymously, at least at their first issue. The authorship of a good many has been settled, and that of many others conjectured. The majority of the titles on my list, however, are still untraced, and I have no hope of finding the parentage of any large number of them. It seems to me that the author's name, where it is known, or conjectured, should follow the title in the main list, either "By John Smith," or "[By John Smith]", or "[By John Smith(?)]", according as his name was given on the original title-page, or has since been determined or conjectured. In case of disputed authorship both names should be given. If the book is a translation or adaptation from a foreign work, or a redaction of an earlier English work, that fact should be indicated by printing the title, authorship, and date of the original, within brackets, after the name of the author, or, in the case of an anonymous book, after the title.

The place of publication and the publisher should be noted after the matter of authorship. Some books give

no indication of the place of issue or the publisher, but they are not many. In many cases the difficulty is rather that, at least according to the bibliographical records of titles, more than one publisher is indicated in different copies of the same work. The notices of the same book, in the same month, by the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Monthly Review*, often connect it with different publishers, or booksellers, and sometimes the British Museum notice of the same book connects it with still another publisher. In many of such cases, no doubt, the names of several publishers appeared on the title-page, and the book was credited by the magazine to the firm sending it in.

Not only should the number of volumes be indicated, but also the number of pages. In the earlier portions of the Museum Catalogue the number of pages is not given, nor, usually, in other existing lists. For a list of so wide a scope as this the number of pages is a most important item. As to the size, I suppose the Museum marking should be followed. I have noticed so many cases in which the size-markings of the eighteenth-century magazines differ from that of the Museum that what I at first supposed to indicate difference of editions seems now merely evidence of carelessness on somebody's part. Whether the book is illustrated should, I suppose, be noted, but I do not think the number or character of illustrations need be specified. Wherever possible the original selling price should be indicated. Here, as I have said, the Term Catalogues and the contemporary

magazines, and also contemporary advertisements, are very useful. There was a gradual rise in prices during the century, from one shilling and sixpence, or two shillings, for a 12mo volume, at the beginning, to three shillings or three shillings and sixpence at the close. The contemporary notices usually indicate, along with the price, the form of binding: "sewed," "stitched," "boards," "bound," etc.

As to later editions and reprints: This is a somewhat vexing question, as it is not easy to determine when a later edition, somewhat revised, becomes a distinct work. It is not, however, so important a question as one might think. A few books were constantly reprinted, but by far the most of the works in this list had not even a second edition. In my list I have counted only distinct works. *Pilgrim's Progress*, with its 188 editions or so during the century, counts for one book among my 4,095. Where there has been a change of title, however, I have counted each title, as in the case of some of the Chap-books and other popular brief works, which were reappearing every few years. Verification of the titles by examination of the books will undoubtedly delete a good many. As to where to indicate later editions I am not sure. If there are but one or two reprints their serial numbers and dates might be printed in brackets after the notation of volumes, pages, etc. In the few cases of frequent reprints there might be at this point a summarizing note: for example, "Ten editions by 1800," followed by a page-reference to the abbreviated alphabetical title-list, where the complete

list of the reprints, with dates, might be given. Reprints might be marked by letters, A, B, etc., although I fear *Pilgrim's Progress* would run the alphabet rather hard.

Following the notation of reprints should come, I think, reference to critical notices of the book in question in eighteenth-century magazines, giving the year, month, and page. For example, "Memoirs of a Scots Heiress," *Monthly Review*, 1791, July, 340. In some cases, with minor works not generally known, reference might perhaps be made to later critical notices, in such works as *Notes and Queries*, the *Retrospective Review*, etc., which are themselves not very well known. References to eighteenth-century magazines, where they are obtainable, would add greatly to the value of the bibliography, it seems to me, and if not more than one or two were given for any work they would not fill much space.

Finally, each entry of the main list should close with a mention of the library where the copy examined is to be found, with the press-mark. In all but a few cases the reference would be to the British Museum. In the few cases in which no copy has been accessible, the entry should close with the source from which the title was derived.

As to the supplementary lists I have not much to say. The alphabetical title-list should be very compact. The title, abbreviated as much as possible; the author, if known, or conjectured; the number of volumes and pages and the size; the date; the serial number. The author list, which would be extremely useful though of

necessity incomplete, should be arranged alphabetically. Another supplementary list which seems to me of special utility in this particular work would be a list of the proper names occurring in the titles. So large a proportion of this eighteenth-century English fiction is on the borderline of fiction and fact, so many books deal with real persons, some of them, like Jonathan Wild, or Jack Sheppard, treated by different authors, at different periods, that I believe such a list would decidedly increase the use of the work for reference, and be both simpler and more effective than a system of cross-references. It should be arranged alphabetically, and give merely the abbreviated title, the date, and the serial number. Finally, a list of translations and adaptations from foreign works would be useful. It should be arranged alphabetically, and abbreviated as much as possible, giving the title, author, and date of the original (in some cases perhaps, the date also of the later issue from which the English work was translated); the abbreviated title of the English work; the name of the translator, if known; the date; the serial number. In my own work I have felt constantly the need of some such list of translations.

A bibliography of eighteenth-century English fiction, somewhat as here outlined, would be helpful, it seems to me, to students of fiction, whether English, American, or foreign, to students of eighteenth-century literature in general, and, by reason of the half-journalistic nature of much eighteenth-century fiction, the close relation between fiction and fact, to students of history.

PAPER CONTRIBUTED BY THE AUTHOR

THE NEW CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES BY THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS[1]

BY A. C. VON NOÉ

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I presume that most of you have heard of the new classification schedule of the Library of Congress and some of you have seen its completed sections. This schedule is not based on the decimal system like the one prepared by Dewey, but it arranges the various subjects under the letters A to Z. Every letter can in its turn be subdivided by adding another letter of the alphabet. So we can get for instance AA, AB, AC, AD . . . . BA, BB, BC, BD, etc. To this combination of the two letters are added blocks of numerals; and in such a way a very large number of subdivisions can be secured.

On account of the prominent position which the Library of Congress occupies, its classification schedule is destined to influence greatly the libraries of this country. But also the very scholarly and scientific principles upon which the new classification is based will recommend its use for bibliographical purposes. These schedules can be bought for a nominal price and will find their place upon the desk of every scholar in the country.

[1] Address delivered before the Modern Language Association of America, at its annual meeting in Chicago, December 28, 1911.

Group P of this schedule contains the languages and literatures and has been prepared by Dr. Koenig under the supervision of Chief Classifier Charles Martel. It is almost completed, but up to the present no portion of it has been printed.

By September, 1911, the Congressional Library had classified 44,000 volumes of class P. The languages were completed with the exception of the African, East Indian, and Slavic books. Of the literary group, History and Criticism of General Literature, of English, French, and German are finished and so are the collections of General, English, and French Literature. The reclassification and self-listing of the remaining sections of languages and literatures was nearly completed by the end of 1911, and the printing of the schedule will begin in January, 1912.

Permit me to give you an outline of section P, to which may be added a few illustrations of its details. There are fifteen subdivisions of group P:

1. General Linguistics and Comparative Indo-European Philology: P.
2. Classical Philology and Greek and Roman Literature: PA.
3. Celtic Languages and Literatures: PB.
4. Romanic Languages and the minor literatures, like Romansch, also the dialect literatures: PC.
5. Teutonic (or Germanic) Philology and dialect literatures: PD–PF as follows:

PD 1–1000	Teutonic (or Germanic) General.
PD 1001–1360	Eastern (General, Gothic, Vandal, Burgundian, Lombard, etc.).
PD 1501–6000	Northern. Scandinavian.
PE–PF	Western.
PE	English.
PF 1–1199	Dutch. Flemish.
PF 1401–1499	Frisian.
PF 3001–5999	German (High and Low).

6. Slavic, Lithuanian, Lettish Language and Literature: PG.
7. Finno-Ugrian Language and Literature: PH.
8. Oriental Languages and Literatures, including the Semitic group, etc.: PJ.
9. Indo-Iranian Philology and Literature: PK.
10. Languages and Literatures of Eastern Asia, Oceania, Africa: PL.
11. Special Languages and Literatures: PM.
12. General literary history and collections: PN.
13. French, Italian, Spanish Literatures, etc. (the Romanic group, omitting minor, as e.g. Romansch): PQ.
14. English Literature (including provincial, and colonial other than dialect literature): PR.
15. American (U.S.) Literature: PS.
16. German, Dutch, and Scandinavian: PT.

Illustrations from P, PE, PF, PN, PQ:

Letter P alone is used for General Philology and Linguistics. Under the subjects P 1–391 are listed:

Periodicals — Yearbooks — Societies — Congresses — Collections — Encyclopaedias — Theory — Method — Essays, etc. — Study and Teaching — History of Philology — Biography of Philology — Philosophy of Languages — Style — Composition — Rhetoric — Prosody — Metrics — Rythmics — Etymology — Lexicography.

P 501–761 comprises Aryan or Indo-European Philology (Comparative Grammar, Morphology, Syntax, Etymology, Lexicography).

PE is English Language and contains under 1–3729 General Works — Anglo-Saxon — Middle English — Modern English — Readers on special subjects — Phonology — Conversation — Rhetoric — Style — Composition — (Theory, Study, and Teaching) — Prosody— Etymology — English Language — Dialects — Provincialism — Archaisms, etc. — English in foreign parts in general — Slang — Argot.

PF from 5001 on contains the Modern German dialects with such subdivisions as: Periodicals — Societies — Congresses — Collections — Encyclopaedias — Atlases, etc. — General works — History of Dialects — Grammar — Etymology — Lexicography — Provincialisms — Archaisms — German in foreign parts.

PN is Literary History and Literature in General with such subdivisions as: Periodicals — Collections — Encyclopaedias — Dictionaries — Theory — Esthetics — Study and Teaching — Criticism — Authorship — History — Comparative Literary History — Translations — Folk Literature — Poetry — The Drama — Prose —

Prose Fiction — Oratory — Elocution, etc.— Journalism — Collections.

PQ French Literature is divided into five groups:

I. Literary History and Criticism.
II. French Literature arranged under the following classes: Poetry — Drama — Prose and Prose Fiction —Folk Literature—Local History (Dialects) — French Literature outside of France.
III. Collections.
IV. Old French Literature.
V. Modern French Literature.

It will be noticed that the minor European literatures (Celtic, Romansch, etc.) and the dialect literatures follow their respective language divisions in PB to PF, the Slavic and Oriental literatures in PG to PM. Only the principal Romanic literatures, like French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian, Provençal and Catalan, and the Germanic literatures, English, American, German, Dutch, and Scandinavian, are treated in groups.

Mr. Martel assured me in a recent letter that the advantages of uniform treatment of all literature were carefully weighed and the formation of the group PN to PT, that is, General and Principal Modern European Literatures, was made only after much deliberation. The decision was influenced by, and rests in part on, consideration of local conditions (space, etc.), on character of collections (including copyright deposit) and their use, but it is believed that the result represents a

good working arrangement, while preserving in essentials the scientific order.

If deviations from the classification schedule of the Library of Congress are made desirable by local conditions, they can easily be made by simple readjustment in the assignment of the blocks of numbers. For instance, French, Italian, Spanish, English, and German Literatures may be placed immediately following the languages by a simple readjustment of the notation, involving in some cases however the use of three-letter combinations for sections, e.g.:

Italian Lang.	PCD 1001–2000	instead of PC 1001–2000
Italian Lit.	PCD 2001–x	instead of PQ 2000–x
French Lang.	PCF 1–2000	instead of PC 2001–2700
French Lit.	PCF 2001–x	instead of PQ 1–2000
English Lang.	PE 1–4000	
English Lit.	PE 4001–9999	instead of PR 1–6000
or better	PEL 1–x, etc.	

In this way the question: Should the literatures be grouped with their respective languages or receive separate places? was settled. There still remain two other problems to be solved: Should Epigraphy go with Classical Philology PA? and, Should the Bibliography of languages and literatures be combined with the subjects or grouped together? Epigraphy is temporarily placed with C (Auxiliary Sciences of History) of which it forms the subdivision CN and all bibliographies are massed in the group Z.

It may be added that fiction has been separated from the literatures and grouped in PZ. The reason is to be found in the practical needs of the Library of Congress as a copyright deposit and as a great public library. The classification of libraries must be a good working compromise between scientific order and practical shelving of books. But general college libraries and even departmental book collections will find it to their advantage to conform as closely as possible to the schedule of the Library of Congress, which has been most carefully prepared, is based upon the established experiences of great American and foreign libraries, and has been tried by practical application to many thousands of books.

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